1:Griffiths M-5 (ca. 1940).1946 AW37 Kol AW37

173 six *kos* east of Rewa city. One of the Kol sub-divisions is called the
174 Binj *kurhi*, and it seems to be generally considered the highest of all
[619] their divisions. This group does not seem to exist now-a-days, or at least they do not know where its members may be found, but the implication is that this is the highest group and so perhaps the first group, and that it had its origin in the Binj mountains, the modern Vindhya range of Central India. These mountains lie, generally speaking, to the west of the centre of the Kol population of the present time. The inference might be drawn from these facts that they are from the country to the west. Other informants said that the Kols came into Rewa from the north. It would thus appear that their traditions are very uncertain on this point. Other of their traditions look back to Chitrakot, in the Banda district, which is to the north-west of the present population centre.

173 A story is told by Kols that the *devatas* or gods were very happy
539 at the birth of Rama and that they desired to celebrate it properly. What was the best form in which to enter the world, was the question they had to decide. They considered that part of the praise should be by song and drum—the *dholak*—so they conceived the idea that the best they could do would be to take the form of Kols. This they did and built a great temple at Chitrakot, sang songs and played the *dholak* there in honour of Rama. When asked further just why the *devatas* took the form of Kols the answer was a bit fuller than intimated at first. They said that the Kols were both the best labourers and the best singers in the world. No one could build the temple so efficiently and so speedily as they and also none like them could praise so acceptably. Therefore the gods came in the guise of Kols.

Quite consistently the Kols to whom we talked trace their origin back to a certain Sheori or Savari or Shivari, calling her 'The Mother of all Kols.' The name may possibly go back to the Savaras of the *Mahabharata*, although it seems more likely that it is based on a certain Ramayana story. The stories vary considerably but their main purport is as follows : There once lived a certain woman named Sheori. She is called by some Kolni (hence Kols) and by others Bhilni.[1] The latter term links the Kols and the Bhils together : this is quite a common, and significant occurrence in their stories. She was a faithful devotee of Bhagawan. Sometimes those who relate the stories call him Siva and at other times Krishna. She followed her lord always and it was her greatest desire to serve him in any way she could.

[193] 1 '*Ni*' is the feminine sign : thus 'Kolni' means a Kol woman. In the same manner 'Bhilni' means a Bhil woman.

Griffiths M-5 (ca. 1940) 1946 AW37 Kol AW37

Now it appears that the god was very fond of jungle plums or *bers* (*Zizyphus jujuba*), which she made a habit of gathering for him, and she also gathered large leaves for his couch in the forest. The story goes that for some reason, (unknown at least to the Kols telling the story), Sheori was driven out of some unknown habitation and in her flight to the forest came upon a colony of *rishis*, *munis* and *devatas*. Each devotee had his own little hut and in front of each hut was burning the sacred fire kept alive by cow dung cakes, and beside each fire was the place of meditation. When she arrived she found the colony deserted, as the devotees had all gone for a walk, and to take their bath in a near-by sacred tank. Sheori noticed that the places where the devotees sat for meditation were not very clean, for ashes and other refuse lay scattered about. She was moved to clean all this up while they were still away and this she set out to do and accomplished it before the *ashram* members returned. She swept it all clean, straightened up things, and plastered the place of meditation with cow dung in the most approved way. She then seated herself at one side and awaited their return. When they arrived and saw the woman seated near the sacred fires and realized what she had done they were very angry for they considered that she had defiled the place by her presence. They addressed her harshly and gave her a good scolding which she received meekly and without a word. Hearing this, Bhagawan, or as some said, Rama who is frequently addressed as Bhagawan, was greatly angered and in punishment for their rude behaviour caused their sacred tank to become putrid and full of loathsome insects and worms. At first the devotees did not connect this with their treatment of Sheori, and they were greatly amazed. Then Bhagawan broke in on the astonished group and said: "Unless you take this woman to the tank and cause her to bathe therein, your tank will remain vile and unclean." They were very much surprised, but obeyed Bhagawan and taking Sheori to the tank allowed her to bathe therein. The moment her feet descended the *ghat*, and touched the waters, the tank was transformed and again became pure and wholesome, and all the vile insects vanished.

Later on, as she continued to serve Bhagawan, she gathered jungle plums, keeping the sweet ones for him and eating the others herself. Bhagawan was pleased with her devotion and one day asked her if she would like a boon. He offered her a *raj* or a *barti*—a kingdom or a family, and she chose the latter. Five sons were born to her and ever since the Kols believe that they have been outstanding for the size of their families. "Children are God's gift to us," they say. Yet there are many who find fault with this choice and say that

1;Griffiths M-5 (ca. 1940) 1946 AW37 Kol AW37

Sheori was foolish and has brought the Kols into great economic difficulties with her choice of children. However, when asked who the father of these children was they looked rather startled and could give no answer. They were but the gift of Bhagawan. The first five brothers so born eventually scattered and founded various subdivisions: Binj, Thakuriya and Kathautiya being mentioned. The first brother went to the Binj mountains and thus the Binj *kurki* was formed. Bhagawan's boon was granted to Sheori in the jungles near the modern Sheori-Narayana, not far from Raipur, and today there is a great temple there to which all castes may go and worship.

Such traditions as the above are significant as folklore, but indicate that the Kol accounts cannot be very old and certainly not pre-historic, nor can they give us much real information concerning the place of their origin nor their migrations. They are too much diluted with *Hindu mythologies* and were undoubtedly drawn from Ramayana stories and coloured by their own imagination. They do indicate, however, a definite movement of thought. Even though the Kols possessing a primitive animistic outlook have come into contact with Hinduism and have accepted certain Hindu deities, nevertheless the acculturation has not been complete: the tribal god (Sheori, a goddess in this case), is even yet given preference over Hindu gods, and this in spite of possibly some 3,000 years of contact.

Up till now but little information has been available about this interesting group, and there is still much that should be done. This study is mainly of the Kols who are in contact with Hinduism, and no attempt is made to isolate the primitive Kol. Further detailed and systematic fieldwork will undoubtedly supplement and may even correct some of the statements found here, and it is not claimed that this should be taken as the last word on the Kols of Central India.

li Griffiths M-5 (ca. 1940) 1946 AW37 Kol AW37

twelve rupees, payable in two equal instalments. Two *saris* are often presented at this time—one for the girl and another for her mother. The washing of the feet and the payment of the bride price are definite expressions of the acceptance of the proposal. Nevertheless, the engagement thus sealed may be broken if either party is dissatisfied. If the girl's side breaks the engagement they must return the bride price and the presents. If the boy's side breaks it they are not entitled to any refund and the money may be kept by the girl's family.

(*b*) *Betrothal and Lagan.* The *lagan* is a letter given by the bride's father to the bridegroom's father, appointing the day of the marriage and ceremonies connected therewith and thus providing an outline for this part of the wedding cycle. The *lagan* should be prepared by the *pandit* of the girl's village or one selected by her family. When the time is ripe for the boy and girl to be formally married the Brahmin priest is called to the house or is informed of the proposal and is asked to write up the *lagan*. The *lagan* should have the complete programme for the *sadi* worked out after consulting horoscopes and taking into account auspicious or inauspicious seasons and circumstances. The best days for weddings are, in order, Monday, Saturday, Thursday and Tuesday, and the *lagan* will take this into account. The luckiest months are *Chaita* (March-April), *Magh* (January-February) and *Phagun* (February-March). After the *lagan* is written the paper is sprinkled with *haldi* water. Here is an actual example of a Kol *lagan*:

SHRI

Shri—may god Ganesh help us. Hari the lord was worshipped with *gur* (raw sugar) and *sendur* (vermilion). The son of Sail named Matukdhari has been selected as the bridegroom. May the lord make the marriage time auspicious.

On Wednesday, the sixth day of the bright fortnight of Magh, the marriage bower will be constructed; on Thursday, the seventh day, the anointing ceremony will take place; on Friday, the eighth, the bridegroom's marriage party will come and on Saturday, the ninth, the circumambulation of the marriage post will take place.

Written by Radha kunji
on the second day of the bright fortnight of Magh.
May all be auspicious!

1:Griffiths M-5 (ca. 1940) 1946 AW37 Kol AW37

584 been plastered and marked somewhat according to the accompanying
796 diagram. About eight o'clock in the evening, as we waited nearby
354 with a group of men, the beat of the drum was heard and we went up to the thornfenced enclosure. Only women were allowed within the

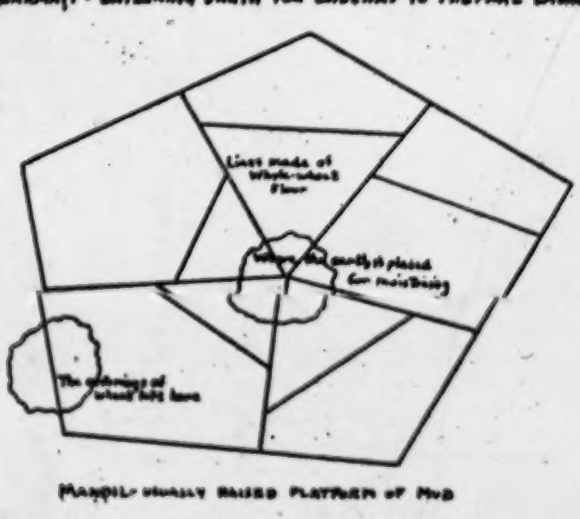

Fig. 19

courtyard, and the men had to remain outside, but a good view was had of the proceedings. The drum was played by a Chamar male, hired for this occasion, who was the only man taking any part in the ceremony. The women and children formed a procession within the
[482] courtyard. There were a number of baskets (there should be seven) carried on the heads of unmarried girls, while others carried a pick (*gainti*) and a mattock (*kodali*). The leader and the first in line of the procession should either be the sister of the bride or her *phuphi*, her father's sister. On her head was an earthen jar like a brass *lota* (some-
[482] times the latter may be used) which was filled with water and into which were inserted mango twigs with the leaves attached. On the top of this rested an earthen lamp, *dip*. Figure 20 shows how this was carried. With this light on her head she led the way to the place
[523 where the earth was dug up and they sang as they proceeded. Some
539] of the songs which were sung at Deosori in the Kaimurs are as follows:

1;Griffiths M-5 (ca. 1940) 1946 AW37 Kol AW37

584
796.
354-
533
539
[482]

THE LEADER OF THE MANGARMĀṬĪ PROCESSION

Fig. 20

1. *Lanka gaye Hanuman,*
Rama Lak'shman ghar aye.
To Lanka far went Hanuman,
Then Ram and Lakshman came home.

2. *Mati khodain gai,*
Bichhi mārisa kāya daiya kaya;
Mati khodain gai, bisa le bahu.
Ho daiya ho, Ho daiya ho, Ho daiya ho.

The clay was dug,
I was bitten by a scorpion—
Alas, Alas!

liGriffiths M-5 (ca. 1940) 1946 AW37 Kol AW37

The clay was dug,
It poisoned me much—
Alas, Alas, Alas!

584 796 354 533 539

3. *Pate par bi jhiliya,*
Jhilmiliya pan.
Char Char bandra,
Ghi, roti, dei.

She stands on a rock by the lake
Her lips are shining with *pan.*
(And she says) "Come along monkey
I shall give you buttered bread."

4. *Sari dekh ke gaya sasurar,*
Aur sarhaj dekh ke lubhaya

Sari dekh ke gaya sasuriya
Dhan dekh ke lubhaya.

He went to his father-in-law's abode,
Drawn by the beauty of the bride's own sister.
But there he fell in love with the wife of the bride's brother.

Again he journeyed to his father-in-law's abode
Tempted by the beauty of the bride's own sister.
But this time he fell for the wealth of his father-in-law.

All but the first song are really directed at the bride to be, and there are certain implications not always easy to understand. In the second one the idea comes out that the girl even at the *mangarmati* time is liable to be smitten by love enroute to her digging. The third refers to the plight of a young girl caught alone, perhaps, with a tempting mouth, and a vague promise for the future. In the last song the bride is taunted with a song which implies that her lover has not really come because of her. In fact, she has no attraction for him, for it is her married sister, or her sister-in-law or the father-in-law's wealth that really draws him.

584 796 354 As these songs were sung the party moved slowly forward to the spot where they were to dig; in this case it happened to be not more than seventy-five feet from the house. Upon reaching the spot they formed

1:Griffiths M-5 (ca. 1940) 1946 AW37 Kol AW37

new white cloth and is ready to be interred. Nothing in the way of money, implements, or the like is buried with the deceased. 764

The grave is now ready to be filled. Some words of farewell may be spoken. If the person be an adult, words like this are said by the chief mourner: *"Aj se tumhara hamara ho chuka. Jo ham se banta tha wuh main kar chuka. Aj se tum ham alag ho gaye."* "From this day our connection is severed. I did whatever was possible. From this day we are separated." Then all say *"Jao, tum baikunth dham sudharo."* "Go now, go to your dwelling place in paradise." 764 539

For children and young people, who seem to have been cut off untimely, these words are spoken: *"Jao, ab kisi ke ghar ana to pura din lake ana."* "Go, and if you are born in another's house, come with a full life."

While the chief mourner speaks he throws in his handfuls of earth—five or seven. When he has completed the others may throw in some handfuls of earth and all join in doing so. After the body is fairly well covered a layer of thorns and stones is put in. Then more earth and at least another layer of thorns and stones and maybe a third, before the grave is filled. The remaining earth is piled in a small mound over the grave and last of all some flattened stones may be laid on top of it. When asked why the thorns and stones are laid the answer has uniformly been that it is to prevent the body being disturbed by flesh-eating animals, which probably would release the spirit. In view of other common beliefs, it may be that this explanation is a rationalization, as it is quite commonly believed that the stones and thorns may bar the return of the spirit to life and keep any other spirit from gaining possession of the body. 764 [775]

Circumambulation of the Grave. Before the burial is actually completed there is generally a circumambulation of the grave. This does not always occur and there are variations in the procedure. Sometimes it takes the form of a horseshoe-like movement, never making a complete circle, but retracing the steps. The first move in this case is made by the chief male mourner, who goes to the east of the head, walks around the feet to the west of the head and returns. This is done seven times, after which he moves away. Others may follow suit, but usually they do it but once and follow the chief mourner. Another method is that of walking round the grave in a clock-wise direction, keeping the grave always on the right. This is done seven times by the chief mourner. Sometimes the movement about the grave is dispensed with altogether. Except when finally leaving the place, one should never during the formalities turn the back toward

1:Griffiths M-5 (ca. 1940) 1946 AW37 Kol AW37

171 1. To cast out an evil spirit:

539 789 *Kali, Kali, maha Kali; Brahma ki beti, dono hatha bajawe thali jaha dekho waha kali; teri shakti meri bhakti. Isi saikat bhut, churel, kabbis, jind, dono ho paharai, na to dhobinke ghat nahawe.*

Kali, Kali, great Kali; daughter of Brahma, who with both hands plays upon the brass plate; wherever one looks there she is. Her strength is my devotion. In this way bhut, churel, kabbis, jind, all are caught. If not, let her (Kali) go to the dhobi ghat and take a bath.

171 755 789 539 2. For fevers and the casting out of evil spirits:

Kalobharo ghungarwala, hatha karo, phulo ki mala chausath jogon sewa men chala, dekho dekhan. Nazar ka tala, raja praja dhawa tuhi sab ki dristi bande tuhi. Main puja pawa tuhi. Teri kiya sabi kuchha hohi. Sekhi Bharo mantra ki shakti. Phro mantra Ishwara wacha.

Kalo bharo, curly-headed, with garlands in your hands and with sixty-four goddesses at your service: look! Whoever has an evil eye, whether king or subject, control them all with but a glance. By worshipping you I get your spirit. Through me you can do everything. Let us see the power of Bharo charm. I cast a spell in Ishwara's (God's) name.

3. To cure fevers and drowsiness:

Ardha sisi huhu karib per pachhara, mukh mora amukhari sisa, rahe sir men to Shivari ki ain.

By making a sound of *huhu* we overcome the spirit; with face turned, head diseased; by Shivari's name we say this.

4. To drive off fever, pain and bodily troubles:

Marhi, Marhi, mai puhari, tajo margui majh dhar. Usi murda ka dhuan, ka akshar dekha ho, bukhara, dard, na achha ho; to meri Mari na hahawe.

l:Griffiths M-5 (ca. 1940) 1946 AW37 Kol AW37

Marhi, Marhi, I call you. Thou who are in the heart of the cemetery. By merely looking at the smoke of that dead body drive out fever, pain and all that is not well; for if they do not depart then she is not my Marhi.

5. To bring a curse upon, or even to kill an enemy:

Chandi ke uppar Chandi awe. Muh phero nao. Khandi chakra uppar chakra dhawe. Nand masi ki hari age ari, na tak, cha tak, pherna sath muh pherayu, tin so sath. Sachhi meri Chandi.

Chandi after Chandi appears: with moving form and circle; wheel after wheel comes. We have waited for this month and the time is exact. Now go here, now go there, make sixty circles with this instrument (may be a knife is in the hand). Yea, three hundred and sixty circles. My Chandi is true.

6. For cure from illness:

Khermai, Khermai, Khermai, main pukharu. Teri dara yadi yeh achhi na kare to no kahawe sachhi meri Khermai. Washa khali na jai to dhobi ghat na hawe.

Khermai, Khermai, Khermai, I call to you. I am at your door. If you do not cure this one then you are not truly my Khermai. No, her words never fail, (but if you do not come) then better go to the dhobi ghat, and take your bath.

Probably no rational interpretation of these *mantras* is possible. The translations are more or less literal and no translation can really give the feeling put into them. They call upon the gods, plead with them, challenge them, threaten them. To tell one to go out and bathe where the *dhobis* wash clothes is an insult: no decent person would do such a thing. If the goddess can be angered she may accomplish the task just to prove that she is not what the speaker insinuates. The goddesses are made in the likeness of unstable and fickle persons and thus partake of human failings. When the *mantra* is properly recited it is thought to have an inherent power to force the deity to do what the one using the *mantra* desires. The above

h:Griffiths M-5 (ca. 1940) 1946 AW37 Kol AW37

[P. 206]

CHAPTER X

FOLKLORE AND FABLES

538 It appears that on the whole the Kols of Central India are not particularly interested in fables and have but little folklore. The Kols pride themselves mostly on their music and song, and the stories which follow have not been easy to collect. No trace was found amongst them of bards or professional story-tellers. No doubt, however, there is much lore hidden away, but it is not obtained when it is directly asked for; the best account is usually found when the story incidentally comes up. Like most primitive people, the Kol knows more than he willingly reveals. The following stories were collected from Kols and represent stories current today.

539 773 THE ORIGIN OF THE EARTH. Brahma is the creator in the Hindu Triad; associated with him are Siva, the destroyer, and Vishnu, the preserver. Certain Kols indicated that it was Brahma whom they considered as the Creator of this world. In the beginning, everything was water, and there was not a bit of dry land anywhere. Brahma brought the earth into existence as follows. First he took the form of a fish and explored the depths of the primeval ocean. But a fish is handicapped in that it cannot carry anything. So Brahma became a tortoise and from some place beneath the primeval ocean, which he had explored as a fish, the Kols know not whence, Brahma got some mud which he put on his back and brought to the surface. It was from this mud that the earth was shaped.

This story bears a resemblance to the story of the Incarnations of Vishnu. The fish and the tortoise are the first and second respectively of the ten chief *avataras* of Vishnu. But the content is quite different, especially in the case of the fish.

[825] THE ORIGIN OF INSECTS. Kols account for the presence of "insects" such as "snakes, scorpions and wasps" in the following way: Sankara was the greatest of all ascetics. He lived very simply without clothes and covered his body with ashes. The dirt from his body, when it fell to the earth, became alive, and so insects such as those named above came into being.

THE ORIGIN OF PEOPLE. The Kol story does not make clear how the first people came into existence, for they begin with a primitive

1:Griffiths M-5 (ca. 1940) 1946 AW37 Kol AW37

539
773

couple. The man was named Baiju, which, they say, is the same as Bhil, and the woman was Shivari. These are the parents of all living races. The generation that came of this union is called Bhil, "because Baiju means Bhil." In the beginning, then, all were Bhils. This family has now separated into many races, and the present condition may be likened to a tree with one root, yet having many branches and leaves. These different branches were the result of the deeds and beliefs of individuals. For example, in the course of time among the Kols a certain *kurhi* began to keep pigs, and other Kols, such as Rautiyas would have nothing to do with such people. They are a different branch. Such events made distinctions within the Kol tribe. Other differences arose, and now the Kols are split up into many divisions, yet like the tree are all one. Baiju, it is believed, still lives as a god in a place in Rewa State called Baijnath. In his shrine a very large image of Shivari is also found. She is pictured as black and fat with a large gold ring in her nose. Of course Baiju's image is in this temple, and his brother Baijnath, but they are not together. There are also images to Bhagawanji and Mahadeoji. Many castes go there to worship, but they have respect only for the image of Bhagawanji and Mahadeoji, and not for Shivari and Baiju. Only the Kols know their worth and serve them.

This story illustrates the way Kols mix things together and also the distinction made by caste people between their gods and those of the Kols.

The name of Shivari often appears in connection with stories of the origin of the Kols. Previous note was made of this in connection with stories of origin.[1] Shivari is usually called the mother of all Kols and is linked to the story of Savari in the Ramayana, although it will be noted that the content is quite different. Once, when Rama, Lakshman, and Sita were on their way into the forest on their voluntary exile, it was discovered that they were in need of help. Savari also lived in the forest, and at once began to serve Rama. Savari, the Kols say, was particularly fond of a jungle plum called *Ber* (*Zizyphus jujuba*).[2] She knew that others would like them too, and she used to gather them and offer them to Rama and Lakshman. One day, however, she forgot what she was doing, and that the plums were not for herself, and as she picked them, she took a bite from each and dropped them into her basket. When she arrived at the *ashram* after this trip, she suddenly met Rama, who eagerly asked her for some

1 Also called Shoori. See pages 8, 9, 10, 43, 104, 140.
2 The *ber* is associated with the jungle and enters frequently into their stories. The Hindi word *Kol* is also used for the same fruit—the *Zizyphus jujuba*.

1:Griffiths M-5 (ca. 1940) 1946 AW37 Kol AW37

539
773

plums. She looked into her basket and saw the half-eaten plums, but was ashamed to tell him that she had forgotten him and had thought only of herself. So she did not offer the basket to Rama. Ramaji, however, was very persistent, and finally she had to present to him the basket filled with half-eaten *bers*. Rama asked Lakshman if he would eat some, but when he saw that they were already touched, he refused to do so. Rama, however, thought them fit to eat, and both he and Sita partook of them. He did not mind it as Lakshman seemed to do. Later on when Lakshman had been struck down by an arrow, he was revived only when he ate these plums. So he should have eaten them in the first place. Thus she served them faithfully for the period of their exile, and when they were preparing to leave the forest, Shivari asked for a boon. She asked for two things: First, for many descendants and secondly, for at least two pounds of grain daily for each, so that they might never starve, and clothes to cover the body. These boons were immediately granted, and so the Kols multiplied. There are today thousands of Kols, they relate, who are all clothed and fed due to the mercy of Bhagawan in the form of Rama.

The basis for the Kol stories related here and also at an earlier place, appears to be found in Valmiki's Ramayana Book III, Canto LXXV. The accounts nevertheless are very different and indicate the way a story is taken hold of and made quite different as it passes orally in legend and story.' In the Ramayana Sita does not appear at all, as she has already been stolen away by the wicked demon King of Ceylon, Rawana, and Rama and his brother Lakshman were in search of her. In their journeyings they came to the edge of a great lake called Pampa where they found in a hermitage an aged female ascetic of whom they had heard before, named Savari. When they arrived, she reverently embraced the feet of the two brothers and confessed that it had been her life-long desire to get a vision of them. To her Rama was the greatest of heavenly beings, and now that she had seen him, she knew she could depart in peace to paradise. She had already been told of his expected coming to the hermitage, and in preparation for his visit, had collected the world-famous fruits of the hermitage for his comfort and sustenance. Rama requested the aged woman to show them the hermitage which was built up by the famous Matanga—a low-caste Chandala who had, by means of great austerities and asceticism, attempted to procure for himself the rank and status of a Brahmin. His works were great and would have to be rewarded, but to become a Brahmin was not possible in this world-order, and the gods tried to persuade him that his attempt was

1:Griffiths M-5 (ca. 1940) 1946 AW37 Kol AW37

539 773

irrational. But he kept on and as he could not be made a Brahmin, he was eventually made a god. Long before the coming of Rama, Matanga had ascended into the heavens, and yet the flowers with which he had bedecked the altars had not withered nor decayed. Savari showed the friends all the wonders of the hermitage. After Rama had seen all, Savari told him that she was anxious to depart this world and join the ascetics above, whom she had served so long. So in the presence of Rama and Lakshman she entered into a fire and ascended into the sky, adorned, it is said, not in the ascetic garb of bark, deer skin and matted hair, but with glorious apparel garlanded for heaven. The whole sky was lighted by this splendour, and as a result of her life of simplicity and piety, she gained her reward above.

It will be noted that this story says nothing about boons nor descendants.

THE SPREAD OF MANKIND. The story runs that in the beginning Bhagawan created all men equal. There was neither high nor low, rich nor poor; all were contented and had the supply of every need. In the course of time Bhagawan conceived the plan of building a great fort called Bandhan to be located in Rewa. Many labourers were needed for this task, so Bhagawan sent Lakshman to find them. He went everywhere seeking workers but could find no one willing to do this hard work, for no one was in need of work. Moreover they said that they themselves would gladly employ labourers in their own projects if Bhagawan would only supply them. Thus it appeared to Lakshman that the people would not only do no work, but would also employ any labourers who were brought in; so, much disappointed, he returned to Bhagawan. Bhagawan too was disappointed, and began to think of what he should do. At last he conceived the idea of making all the people poor, for then, he reasoned, they should be glad to work. This he did, and after a time, when the people had experienced the pangs of poverty and want, he again sent Lakshman. Now this time he found that all were eager for employment and a daily wage. They were put to work and the fort was built as first planned. When the work was finished, Bhagawan had no further plan for them, and there were no wages forthcoming. Men were still poor, and in order to get work so that they might live, men began to move out over the face of the earth. They spread thus from Rewa everywhere, and the earth became peopled.

1:Griffiths M-5 (ca. 1940) 1946 AW37 Kol AW37

539 773 THE ORIGIN OF KOLS. There are several stories recorded elsewhere[1] concerning the origin of the Kols. This story may supplement them. While Rama was in exile in the forest, many of the gods took compassion on him and descended to the earth in human form in order to assist him. These gods called themselves Kolas. After the fourteen-year period of exile was over, Rama returned to his Kingdom and became King of Ayodhya. The Kolas went back to heaven—Indrapuri. The Kols of today are the descendants of the gods who were in the forest along with Rama. This proves the divine origin and nature of the Kols.

[492] HOW THE KOLS LOST THEIR RIGHTS. From the beginning, the Kols enjoyed many rights, and in their prestige were second to none. Once Shivari was going on a journey. A man was hired to carry her luggage in a *kanwar*—two baskets attached to the ends of a bamboo pole slung over the shoulder. Thus they started off. After they had gone some distance, the man said to Shivari: "Why do you walk, when there in the field is a horse for you to ride upon?" This gave Shivari an idea. The horse was brought, but she could not get on it, and so she took an axe and began to chop at the horse's legs to shorten them. The man shouted: "What are you doing?" She replied: "I wish to prepare two pegs out of the horse's legs so that I may use them to mount the horse as he is too high for me." The man said: "Fool, you know nothing; you are spoiling the horse. Take this *kanwar* and I will show you how to ride a horse." So he gave to her the *kanwar* with her luggage within the baskets and jumping on the horse, he rode away. From that day on Shivari had to carry her own luggage everywhere, and her descendants became coolies. The man was really Bhagawan in the form of Ramachandraji, and took away from her the high privileges which were really hers, because she was so stupid. Thus Bhagawan deceived the Kols and cheated them of their rights, and ever since that time they have been burden bearers and coolies.

492 539 773 There are various stories about the horse and the dispossession of the Kols by others. A Brahmin was once ploughing a field, and a Kol happened to pass that way on horseback. The Kol was much interested as he had never witnessed ploughing before. He descended from his horse and after watching the process a while, wondered if he could also do it. To test himself he caught hold of the plough and attempted to use it. The Brahmin then jumped on the horse and rode away and was never seen again. So the Kol had to continue to plough the field and

1 See pages 4-10, 24, 37, 38, 39-40, 41-42.

1:Griffiths M-5 (ca. 1940) 1946 AW37 Kol AW37

has been ploughing ever since. It was really Bhagawan in the form of a Brahmin that deceived the foolish Kol, and Kols have never ridden horseback since that time.

DEPRIVED OF BREAD. In olden days Kols had plenty to eat, but they did not know how to eat their food properly. Instead of breaking their *chapatis* with their hands, they used axes upon them. This displeased Bhagawan, and he sent poverty amongst them, and Kols nowadays get their daily bread only after very hard labour.

There is another tradition linking the horse and bread together. The story goes as before that, when the Kols were first upon the earth, they had plenty to satisfy all their needs. They had horses to ride upon, plenty of wheat and *ghi* and fruits. They lived happily, acquired much wealth, and became the most powerful people in all the regions about. But they could not ride upon horses properly. They conceived the plan of shortening their horses' legs with axes, so that they would not have so much difficulty in mounting and would also not have to fall so far. They also began to chop up their *chapatis* with axes. When Bhagawan came to know of all this, he was very angry and took away the axes and all the horses. He gave the Kols sickles and commanded that thereafter they should never ride a horse and that they should work as labourers in reaping the harvests of others.

THE LOSS OF THE SACRED THREAD. In the beginning, the Kols were the highest of all peoples and wore the sacred thread, which is today the right of the twice-born castes only. But once for some reason, Bhagawan called the people together and put the Kols last, thus angering them greatly for they felt humiliated in the presence of all. In their anger and to show their disregard for the sacred thread, they tore them off and scattered them in all directions. These became attached to trees and bushes and at once began to grow and became *Amarbel* (*Cuscuta reflexa*), a greenish yellow parasitic plant now found in many parts of Central India. Any bit of it will attach itself to a tree or bush and grow easily. "Now," say the Kols, "we would challenge any Brahmin to do the same. Let them throw away their sacred threads. There was life in ours but theirs are dead."

HOW THE KOLS BECAME SEVEN FAMILIES. At first there was but one family of Kols, the descendants of Shivari. This family besought the favour of Bhagawan in prayers which were unselfish and which asked not for wealth or food. Bhagawan therefore blessed

1;Griffiths M-5 (ca. 1940) 1946 AW37 Kol AW37

539 773 564 them and their number increased so greatly, above all other families on earth, so that there was no room for them to live together. So Bhagawan gave them permission to separate into seven groups, and thus the seven *kurhis* of the Kols arose. The groups named in this story are: (1) Thakuriya, (2) Mawasi, (3) Binjhwar, (4) Khairwar, (5) Khangar, (6) Pawai and (7) Kurha.

539 773 How the Kols came to be Popular. Sehai and Kuhai were two sisters who were very rich but lacked things to eat, being thus forced to gather the fruits of the forest in which they lived. One day Rama and Lakshman passed by their house. They were hungry and sought food from the sisters. The sisters had nothing but fruits to offer them, and Rama received these gladly, but Lakshman threw them away in anger. The brothers then departed on their quest, but not without the curse of the sisters upon Lakshman for his rudeness. In the course of a battle, while attempting to rescue Sita, Lakshman, was struck by an arrow and fell unconscious and no one was able to restore him. Then Rama remembered the curses of the sisters and sent a messenger to bring some of the rejected fruit. This was brought and forced into his mouth; as it touched his lips, he at once became well and regained the full use of his senses. Then Sehai (really Shivari) asked for a boon and Rama replied: "I am very much pleased with you; go and flourish in the world and increase the population of the world with many children." From that time the Kols have had large families and are found in every part of India. This is not unlike a story recorded earlier.[1]

Heroes among the Kols. Apart from the Kol woman Shivari, the Kols do not seem to have heroes or heroines in their legends. It is said that there is not even one hero among the Kols and the following story explains why that is and also explains the origin of their musical abilities.

Once Bhagawan called people together out of every community in order to bless them and give them a boon. Groups from everywhere set off to the place of *darshans* and among them were the Kols. Other groups reached the place where the boons were to be granted, but the Kols never arrived. It so happened that as they were proceeding on their way, the Kols heard the cry of the birds known as the *Sath Bhai* or Seven Sisters (*Crateropus canorus*). (The sarcasm of the story is to be found in the fact that these birds have a very unmusical cry, one which grates upon the ear). Hearing the cry *pay, pay, pay*

[825]

1 See pages 8-10.

L:Griffiths M-5 (ca. 1940) 1946 AW37 Kol AW37

of the *Sath Bhai*, and thinking this to be their boon, the Kols returned home. They took it that Bhagawan had given them the gift of musical expression, and from that time they became adept at the beating of drums and singing, for which they are famous all over India. 537 773

THE DOMESTICATION OF ANIMALS. After the creation of the earth Bhagawan peopled it with all kinds of animals. But the problem was, which one of them should be put to the plough in order that the ground might be tilled? First he tried the elephant, but he was too big and could not turn about in the field, and in addition he trampled down the ploughed earth. So he tried the camel next but it was not satisfactory either. Finally he created the oxen and tried them in the plough; they were just right and with them Bhagawan succeeded in turning up the soil. Then Bhagawan gave the cattle a gentle and kind nature so that man might have them with him and use the oxen to till the land. Thus they were domesticated. 539 773 231

WHERE AGRICULTURE STARTED. In the beginning certain peoples were created by Bhagawan specifically for the purpose of farming. These were the Kurmis, Lodhis, Kols and Gonds. It was with these groups that agriculture first started. But there are others who maintain that all people were of the jungle and that Bhagawan gave to them first the cattle which he had created; therefore they left living off fruits and roots and began to grow crops. 539 773 241

WHY WE HAVE A LITTLE FINGER. There is a story among Kols, that in the distant past when the Pandus and the Kurus fought in Hindustan, Shahadeo Pandu desired to see for himself just how one might become possessed of Shardamai. So he thought he would try an experiment. He brought before the goddess a cocoanut, some *sendur*, *ghi* and fire, and began to make a *hom* offering. As he was doing this, he suddenly became possessed of the *devi* and his fourth finger happened to rest in the *hom* fire. Being in the state of unconsciousness due to the *bawa* he did not notice this fact, and the tip of the finger began slowly to burn away. Ever since, man has had a little finger for it was shortened in the *hom* fire. 539 773 826

THE COMING OF DISEASES. There were once seven sisters in heaven, who were sent from there to the earth to live among men. As they left Bhagawan, they asked him for boons, for, they said, unless they had power of some kind no one would respect them nor would men worship them. It happened that each was granted a boon. 539 773 753

1:Griffiths M-5 (ca. 1940) 1946 AW37 Kol AW37

539 773 753 Khermai, called Bhagavati, chose the power of smallpox. If any one fails to please her, she appears in that person in the form of smallpox. Or, if not that, some other in the family will be with the pox, euphemistically called *mata*, "mother". She was given the power to remain in full control of the person for two and a half days, and during that time the sick person should be worshipped, for that really means the worshipping of Bhagavati; so men must respect and honour her for her power. Further honour must be shown by the whole family in the avoidance of certain foods such as pulses and *ghi*. No frying pan should be used, and the inmates of the house should not wear leather shoes.

539 773 782 THE KOLS AND MAHADEO (SIVA). The Kols have several stories in which they speak of a character which they call Baiju or Baijnath. One example has already been given. From some stories it appears that he is the husband of Shivari. Kols say that Baiju, under the name of Baijnath, and the god Mahadeo must always be worshipped together, but Baijnath should be worshipped first.

One story relates that Baijnath excelled all others in his devotion to Bhagawan, and when the time was right, he asked Bhagawan for a boon. He asked that at the time of worship, water might first be poured over him and then over Mahadeo. This was granted, and he used to worship Mahadeo and beat him with a stick five times a day.

A longer form of this story from another section of Central India is as follows: In this account Baijnath is spoken of as a Rautiya Kol, a farmer who worked daily in his fields. He had this peculiar characteristic, however, which was that as he went by a certain temple, he used to enter in and beat Mahadeo with a stick five times a day. The reason for this strange behaviour was known only to Baijnath. Once it happened that he was so busy in the fields that he forgot to beat the god and when he was almost home from work he recalled his omission. At once he decided to return to the dwelling place of Mahadeo, but on the way he found that, for some strange reason, the river was in spate, and would be very dangerous to cross. He decided to wait a bit, but there was no improvement in the river. The sun was about to set, and the day would be gone, so he decided to jump into the river and swim through it. He did this very dangerous thing and going to the temple gave Mahadeo five blows with the stick. On his return he had to swim the river again. Now Mahadeo, who saw all this, was afraid, for he realized that Baijnath was a man of purpose and would not be turned aside by dangers, so he decided that he must do something to please Baijnath. With this in mind Mahadeo waited

l:Griffiths M-5 (ca. 1940) 1946 AW37 Kol AW37

till Baijnath arrived the next day intent on beating him. Greeting him he said :- "Baijnath, I wish to give you a great boon. It is that people will worship you and pour water on you first and after that they will worship me. If they should fail to do this to you, they will have no fruit of their labours at all. So now that you have this *bardan* please give me release from this daily beating you are giving me." Hearing this, Baijnath was very happy and Mahadeo was beaten no more. So Kols always worship Baijnath first.[1]

539 773 782

HOW THE CAT BECAME A HOUSEHOLD PET. Once Mahadeo sent a cat to spy upon a certain home. He wanted to know whether there was a fire in there at that particular time. This cat had stayed with Mahadeo for a long time and, obeying his commands, she went to the house where she found the fire burning and milk nicely warmed beside it. There was also some freshly prepared butter on the floor. The cat tasted the butter and found it so delicious that she ate it all. Next she drank the milk, and feeling very comfortable, she curled up to sleep beside the cosy fire. She nevermore left the house, for she preferred it with its warmth, and butter and milk, to the treatment and food she had with Mahadeo. Since that time the cat has become a household animal, and it is a great sin to kill one, as it came directly from Mahadeo.

539 773 231 [673]

WHY THE TIGER FEARS THE RED DOG. The wild dog, a red dog of India, (*Cyon dakhunensis*) is common in the wilder jungles of Central India. It is much feared by the animals of the forest, including the tiger, and tigers are sometimes killed by it. These dogs always hunt in packs containing often as many as thirty animals, and the pack does not give tongue, coming suddenly upon its prey.

539 773 825

The story goes that once Mahadeo quarrelled with Parvati his wife. He was so annoyed with her that he left home and went into voluntary exile in the forest. Parvati was sorry and wanted to get him back, but was too proud to humble herself before him. Finally she decided to frighten him and thus cause him to return. She was sure that if she could send a tiger after him to annoy him Mahadeo would surely fly to his home for safety. So she used her divine powers to make a tiger go to him, but in vain, for Mahadeo outwitted her, as

1 It is now established that Siva or Mahadeo worship is very ancient. Evidences of this are found in the Mohenjodaro civilization. A Census report notes that "Bhils, Savaras and the Korkus all trace their origin to Mahadeva, though it is possible that the tradition may be a latterly acquired Hindu idea." (1931—I : 3 B. p. 83). Perhaps this story is a memory of a strife with groups who did trace their ancestry back to Mahadeo. The Kols frequently identify Baiju or Baijnath with the Bhils.

li Griffiths M-5 (ca. 1940) 1946 AW37 Kol AW37

539 773 825 he was a god. He picked up some dry pieces of wood and threw them toward the tiger saying, "*Chhu, chhu*". The wood became the wild dogs of the Indian jungles, which do not fear the tiger and attack it in packs. These dogs attacked the tiger and with their tails spread urine in his eyes. This made the tiger blind and fearful and he hastened away.

[776] Since that time Kols have held the tiger sacred because it is associated with the goddess Parvati; also the wild dog, because Mahadeo created it to protect himself. This also accounts for the fact that tigers today are afraid of the red dog. Neither the tiger, the jungle dog, nor any dog should be killed.

539 773 How Ill Temper brings Disaster, and its Cure. Biran, a Kol, was the servant of a *raja* who possessed a very bad temper. This king constantly used bad language in the presence of everyone he met and annoyed Biran immensely. Once this *raja* gave a great feast to which many people were invited. Biran and his friend Dadul also came. After the food was taken, someone got something very bitter in his mouth, and was forced to spit it out on the costly rug, on which they were seated for their meal. This was seen by the *raja* who became very angry and used disgusting *gali*. Many people left, among them Biran and Dadul. The rainy season was about to come, but the rains were delayed. What was the matter? No one could tell, and week after week passed with no cooling drops. They did not know that it was all due to the ill temper of the *raja*.

The farmers felt that they must break up the ground so they might catch any rain that fell. Biran was ploughing along with others when his plough turned up a frog, and the frog cried out in his dismay. Bhagawan heard this, and thinking that the frog was very thirsty, sent rain upon the earth; the wickedness of the *raja* could no longer restrain its fall. But the *raja* was still angry and called for Biran and scolded him. Nevertheless his words had no more power to bring a curse upon the land.

"This story shows that magic can remove a curse," was the comment of the teller.

1:Griffiths M-5 (ca. 1940) 1946 AW37 Kol AW37

3. Love and Intrigue; 4. Songs in Connection with Social Events; 5. Songs of Religion; 6. Some Miscellaneous Songs. 533

I. Songs of Nature 1/A 539

1. Morning. (a)

Suraja ke hirana harhi
Sagabana bana dholonge;
Pankshi bana bolonge,
Kaga bole angana.

When the sun's morning rays flash forth,
All the trees in the forest will quiver;
Then the birds will call in the forest,
And the crow will caw at your door.

2. Morning. (b)

Suraja ke kirana karha,
Chakahi piya milana bhaye;
Pankshi bana bolo gaye,
Kaga bole angana.

As the morning's first rays are drawn out,
Forth goes the Chakahi to its lover;
Then every bird called in the forest,
And the crow cawed loud at the door.

3. The Storm and Lonely Heart.

Purabadisha se uthi badariya,
Jaise kunjar ki rekha;
Nadai barse, nadai garje,
Jhare badal dhanray—
Kari re badariya ghumar ji ley.

From the East march the mighty clouds,
Like a line of elephants they move along:
They rumble and thunder
And pour forth terrifying streams—
And Oh, how they torment and afflict this heart—
Until he come!

1/A [Additional material on this section will be found in cat. 116, pp. 289-292. Analyst]

1:Griffiths M-5 (ca. 1940) 1946 AW37 Kol AW37

4. Flowers and Music.

539 *Tori angani phulana hi bahar re:*
Bela bhi phule, chameli bhi phule,
Sab phulan mon raja gulab re.
Tabala bhi baje, sarangi bhi baje,
Sab baja mon raja sitar re!

Thy courtyard is the scene of abundant flowers:
The *bela* is blooming, the *chameli* is flowering,
Yet the king of them all is the rose.
The drums too are sounding, the *sarangi* resounding,
But the *sitar* is king of them all.

5. A Forest Song.

Age nadiya agam bahi hai,
Manai nawe jay.
Swami ke sandisawa ko le awe
Ko le jay?

Before me flows a river of sickening depth;
'Tis only crossed by boats.
Who shall bring my lord's message to me
And mine to him?

II. LIFE: ITS JOYS AND SORROWS.

1. Does Your Life Have Purpose?

Ka karho jug mon ayeho, aiso jiwan payeho,
Merha mari, kukra mari, mirga mari ban re:
Aiso jiwan payeho?

With a life so precious you came into this world!
Is it to kill a ram, or a cock, or a deer
With an arrow?
Can this be the meaning of life?

1:Griffiths M-5 (ca. 1940) 1946 AW37 Kol AW37

2. The Transitoriness of Life.

539

Sada turaiyan na phule,
Sada na Sawan hoy;
Sada piya na run charan,
Sada na jiban hoy;
Ek din marna sabki ha hoy.

The gourd bears not blossoms forever,
The "green month" lingers not long;
Not often do husbands join battle,
And man does not live on perpetually:
One day each one must lie down.

3. The Need of Love amid Change.

Patta tute dar se,
Pawan lai gaya uraya,
Yari chhuti yara se,
Dukha kaise kahoon samujhaya?
Jiyara tu rahe sahai se jiyar.

The leaf has dropped from the branch,
And the wind has blown it away,
The maid is torn from her lover,
And how may her grief be told?
O love everyone, my soul!

4. Sorrow Loosed upon the Life.

Maiya mori bairi bhai Rama Lachana:
Nadiya bati sab hai bandhe,
Maiya mori bandhi na jai samadiya.
Chhiniya bati sab hai banche,
Maiya mori banchi na jai harmana.
Sampat hai sab hai hande,
Maiya mori bati na jai biputiya.

My mother is become my enemy
(Since she married me to such a one),
O Rama, O Lakshaman!
Rivers may be dammed,

liGriffiths M-5 (ca. 1940) 1946 AW37 Kol AW37

539 But not this sea of pain
Loosed on me by my mother.....
Any one can read a letter:
But, O mother, who can understand my luck?
Wealth may be shared by all:
But not this flood of sorrows
O mother, can be shared!

5. The Sorrows of Desertion.

Sona lena piya gaye,
Suna kara gaya desha;
Sona mila na piya mile,
Rukh bhaya sab kesh,
Yaha tan chola ka nahin biswas.

My lover left to buy me gold,
And all my world was gone;
Now neither have I gold nor lover,
And my hair has grayed with the years,
One cannot trust this body or life.

6. The Round of the Years, and yet—

Kaise karon, kahan janwa?
Umariya bhari ho harai;
Yaha tana ka pira bina banawali?

Asura bolai mora, shoru bhaye bhari,
Bhadon me dara lagai, dekha andhiyari,
Kunwar karara kajara karo banawali;
Katika nahin aye shayama sawata sunghari,
Agahana agra suhana dukhai dukha bhari;
Maghai parai tuzara deha dain dari.
Phaguna ma karau karana kajara banawali,
Chaita chakra chakara kara bhayakari,
Baishaka na lagai aukha bina banawali;
Jetha ma aza tanpaya tana jari,
Asura ban bolai mora shora bhari.

l:Griffiths M-5 (ca. 1940) 1946 AW37 Kol AW37

539

What to do? Where to go?
For my desire is urging me on.
Who can relieve this body's ache
But my dear husband?
For,
In Asara the peacock calls and sets the forest resounding.
In Bhadon upwards I look and fear the clouds and the darkness.
In Kunwar, O husband dear, a thousand times you have said "I am coming";
But now Katika has begun and still I long for your presence.
In this most auspicious Agahana I find my heartache unbroken;
In Magh with its mists and its cold I am lonesome and shivering in body.
O Companion, a thousand promises were made that in Phagun you'd surely be with me.
The wheel of Chaita is revolving: O come and remove my desire:
For without your presence, my dear, I have no sleep in Baishaka,
And if not, then in Jeth will this body burn as with fever:
.....And in Asara again, they will hear the call of the peacock.....

III. Love and Intrigue.

539
832

1. The Call of Love.

Prita to aise ki jaise lota aou dora,
Apana gala phasaya ke pani lawata bora,
Pirati lagaya chhore na, jiyara hamara.

As the cord tied round the *lota* brings up water,
So is love;
Ah, tie the cord of thy love about me,
And never leave my soul again.

2. Admiration.

Kaun halwaiya ke khaye mithai?
Aur kaun barai ke pan?

li Griffiths M-5 (ca. 1940) 1946 AW37 Kol AW37

539
832

Aur kaun chail hi jiya marawaile kahha dekhai dar?
Jiya marway men pahay kaya?

Ah sweetheart!
At which sweet-seller's shop did you take sweets?
And which *panwalla* gave you *pan*?
What lad will next be smitten by your beauty?
Whom now will you cause to be fined?

3. Unity and Rest.

Tala kahai purhaina se chala jala bich tu jaya,
Chirai chiragun pani na pawai kamala pala rahain jala chaya.
Dono jana rahi kamala gahachhaya.

The pond saith to the lotus:
"Go deep into my heart,
So the birds of the air may not reach me,
For your leaves shall ever protect me."
Thus shall they e'er be together:
The lotus covering the waters.

4. To a Doubting Husband.

Hansna mora subahu balam tum chinta na manu.
Jab mai raha barah baras
Kahi kahun najar nahin dugai,
Balam tum chinta na manu.

'Tis my nature to smile, dear husband,
Do not worry, mine own.
Since my twelfth year
Have these eyes never roamed;
Beloved, be not suspicious of me!

5. Yearning.

Kali daha hi machhari burawai uiraya,
Dhimarena jala umho bansi dora jaya,
Sakhi, inkar doka kahu samujhaya.

liGriffiths M-5 (ca. 1940) 1946 AW37 Kol AW37

In the depths of the ocean black
The fish go up and down.
When the water rises the *dhimar* casts his net:
Ah love! Need I explain?

539
832

6. The Refreshing Waters of Love.

Sahara mukha ka bawali lagata lambi dora,
Trisna kaise bujhai pani bina
Tarphai, jiyara hamara?
Aba pardeshi pani yan piawa.

The mouth of the well is narrow,
And its waters lie so deep.
How shall I quench this thirsty soul
Which pants for sweet waters?
O absent husband—give me of your drink!

7. The Satisfying Water of Love.

Sahara mukha ka bawali,
Siriya kai ratana jorayo,
Utara utara pani piyo:
Jiyara kai tapana bujhawa.....
Pani pa piye kai:
Jiyara nisocha.

The well's mouth is narrow,
Its steps are paved with gems,
Go down, ever down, then, drinking
Cool life's fierce fever.....
Now have I tasted your waters:
And the pain of existence is gone.

8. A Challenge.

Hamse ke lagai tuma ari,
Nibaihe ke tuma jano balama.

Alas, your smiles have taken me to your bosom!
Now you yourself take charge of carrying on our love!

1:Griffiths M-5 (ca. 1940) 1946 AW37 Kol AW37

9. An Intrigue in the Home.

539
832

Ka dekh machari luriya karat hai?
Ka dekh bhamra lobhay?
Jal dekh machari luriya karat hai,
Phul dekh bhamra lobhay.
Ka mangai sari?
Ka mangai sarahaj?
Ka mangai ahaniya tumhar?
Sari to mangai phulon ka gajra,
Sarahaj lahra pator,
Ahaniya mangai sunna ki churiya,
Jo na rahe sansar.

Sari se sarahaj adhika piyari,
Sas Ganga jala pani.
Ab mat pita ki kiriya khaun:
Ab na jab sasurari!

What draws the fish? What tempts the bee?
Water the fish, and flowers the bee.
What wants your *sari*? (Sister-in-law)
Why beckons your *sarahaj*? (Brother-in-law's wife)
What does your *ahaniya* need? (Mistress, wife)
Your *sari* wants a wreath of flowers,
Your *sarahaj* looks for beautiful clothes,
And your *ahaniya* wants bangles,
Golden ones of matchless beauty.
Your *sarahaj* is dearer than your *sari*.
Your *sas* (Mother-in-law) is pure like Ganges water,
By My parents I swear:
I shall never henceforth
Go to my *sasur's* (Father-in-law) house!

IV. Songs of Social Life.

539
844

1. A Song of Birth-pangs.

Ghumara ghumara pira awai hou nahin janai,
Janai mori lahuri nandiya sasa to sowai mahaliya,
Nanda gajowari sasa ke dabai,
Chhonguriya raja ke pawaun pindariya.
Tumhari mahaliya kachhu shora jagaya nahi jagau.

1;Griffiths M-5 (ca. 1940) 1946 AW37 Kol AW37

Such birth-pangs and inner writhings as none ever dreamed, are upon me. 539 ● 844
But only my little sister-in-law is aware of it all,
And my mother-in-law in the palace peacefully sleeps!
And there sits my husband's sister:
Massaging that woman—my mother-in-law!
And the legs of that woman's king!
For in spite of all my groanings
You waken not in your palace.

2. Congratulations for a Son.

Bhali khet jahan tilli upaji,
Gehun upaji nau sar.
Kokh bhali jahan lalan upaje,
Bajan badhaiya Ayodhya men.

Good earth is that which gives us sesame,
And wheat grows best in fields embanked.
Blest is the womb that gives good sons,
'Tis the occasion for the *badhawa* song;
For this was sung in Ayodhya (when Ram was born).

3. A Song for the Chhatthi Rejoicings. 539 846

Kajli ke bana phula phulai bara sundara phulai,
Nahi janau maliya ke sinche se,
Aur nahin janau kheta guna?
Jo woi charon phulawa pawanti to palana binauti,
Wohi men lalna jhulaunti jarawan ka jalaunti.

In the forests of Kajli the most beautiful flowers bloom.
To what this is due I know not:
Is it the water from the gardener's hand?
Or is it the virtue of the field itself?
If only thence I could get those fair flowers,
I would form with them a sweet cradle:
And in it rock my child,
And all my neighbours should envy.....

li Griffiths M-5 (ca. 1940) 1946 AW37 Kol AW37

4. The Wedding Parties Likened to Warriors.

539
585

Purab disha se Purabiya, pakachim se chare Baghel.
Bajat awe barhon baja,
Ghumat awe tarawar.
Katni men hoi katal hi mar.

The *Purabiyas* march from the east,
From the west move forward the *Baghels.*
They come with beating drums,
Playing on twelve instruments,
Bravely they brandish swords,
In Katni they will fight and kill.

5. The Presence of The Bride.

Bagiya kati dura?
Awai mahaka bela hi?

How far to yon garden of incense?
Whence cometh this fragrance of *bela?*

6. Marriage Song: At the Time of Building the Mandap.

Marawa garori ranga rasa men:
Jo diwara naiyan mori basa men,
Hon tori ranga rasa men.
Khamba garori ranga rasa men:
Jo diwara naiyan mori basa men,
Basa men hain tori ranga rasa men.
Kalas lipori ranga rasa men:
Chauka purori ranga rasa men:
Jo diwara naiyan mori basa men,
Basa men hain tori ranga rasa men.
Tel charhori ranga rasa men:
Basa men hain tori ranga rasa men,
Jo diwara naiyan more basa men.
Haldi charhi re ranga rasa men;
Jo diwara naiyan more basa men,
Hain tori ranga rasa men,
Jo diwara naiyan more basa men.

1:Griffiths M-5 (ca. 1940) 1946 AW37 Kol AW37

The *marwa* is being built with great rejoicing :
Oh the brother-in-law is not friendly with me,
He is not under my power,
Nor the slave of my beauty and love.
The *khamba* is being fixed with great rejoicing :
Oh the brother-in-law does not respond to my love,
He is not the slave of my beauty and youth.
The *kalas* is being coloured with great enthusiasm :
The *chauka* is being marked with designs as well :
Yet the brother-in-law is not joking with me,
He is not the slave of my beauty and youth.
I the bride am anointed with oil, and joyful :
Yet the brother-in-law is cold toward me,
He never responds to my love.
Haldi is being smeared upon me with laughter :
Oh my brother-in-law does not respond to my love,
Will he ne'er be the slave of my beauty and youth,
Will he never respond to my yearnings?

7. Marriage Song : At the Time of Haldi Smearing.

Okho marawa kahe, bhaiya ham hain bare :
Oko marawa chale jajoman jaba to chokhi bhanwar pare.
Wo barki kahe, bhaiya ham hain bare :
Oko kambha chale jajoman jabai,
To chokhi bhanware per barai.
Kumhar kahe, bhaiya ham hain bare :
Oke kalas chale jajoman jabai,
To chokhi bhanwar pare.
Nauwa kahe, bhaiya ham hain bare :
Oko chauka pure jajoman jabai,
To chokhi bhanwar pare,
Tiliya kahe, re ham hain bare :
Oko tel chale jajoman jabai,
To chokhi bhanwar pare.
Bahana kahe, bhaiya ham hain bare :
Oki bati chale re jajoman jabai,
To chokhi bhanwar pare.
Baniya kahe, re bhaiya ham hain bare :
Oki haldi chale jajo jabi,
To chokhi bhanwar pare.

1;Griffiths M-5 (ca. 1940) 1946 AW37 Kol AW37

539
585

Oho, saith the booth: sirs, I am chiefest of all;
On account of me only can there be a good wedding.
Saith the carpenter: sirs, I am chiefest of all:
On account of the wedding pole the wedding is good.
The potter says: brothers, I am chiefest of all:
For without my water pot no marriage is truly made.
The barber speaks: sirs, it is I who am chief:
For without my platform no wedding is likely.
Thus said the oilman: I am essential and chief,
How can a marriage be performed without oil?
The carder replies: I am best of them all,
For without my cotton wick no light can be had,
The merchant speaks: why sirs, it is all due to me:
How could a marriage be celebrated without turmeric?

8. Wedding Song: When the Barat is Dining.

More ko kone wale aye more belakli,
More dulha ne wale aye, more belakli.
Beto deru je we matau jewe darbhajiya bhanji?
More belakli.
Samthi ne wale aye, more belakli,
More daru jewe matjewe darbhajiya ki bhaji,
More ke.
Kone newale aye, more belakli.

O beloved jasmin bower, who has now come to dine?
Thy bridegroom has now come to supper, O jasmin sweet.
Yet eateth he gram and the greens of the field,
O jasmin blossom.
With him have come his father and elders, dear jasmin,
They too eat of such common greens,
They have now come to dine, O jasmin sweet.

9. Teasing the Bridegroom's Party as they Arrive.

Man ke ekau na aye.
Bari bari muchan ke aye, man ke ekau na aye.

LiGriffiths M-5 (ca. 1940) 1946 AW37 Kol AW37

Bari Bari thondan ke aye, man ke chau na aye 539
" " nahan " " " " " " " "
We to pilawai pitwa aye " " " " " 585
Sabbo ichaha bichaha aye " " " " "
Etc.

There is none that really appeals to my heart.
There came men with big moustaches:
But none really appeals to my heart.
There also come men with big bellies:
But they never appeal to my heart.
There now come men with great big noses;
But none really appeals to my heart.
Strong and stout they come:
But still they never appeal to my heart.
All sorts of men come on the scene:
But none ever speaks to my heart.
Etc.

10. Marriage Song: For the Guests Who Have Come.

Sajnan aye more hinuana aye ao sajna ke lane.
Puiya pahai puriya ke jibiya more sajna na aye,
Sajna na aye more hituwan aye, ne sajna ke lane, main.
Negruwa maraya geruwa dhutaiya more sagna na aye,
More hit uana aye
Je sajnan ke lane main ne biriya lagai,
Biya ke chabiya more sajna na aye, sajna na aye.
Sajna ke lane main ne choupare bichhaye,
Chaupar ke khilaiya more sajna na aye.
Je sajnan ke lane main ne sijiya bichhai,
Sijiya ke suwaiya more sajna na ae.
Je sajnan ke lane main ne jhula garaye,
Jhula ke jhulaiya more sajna na aye.
Sajna ke lane main ne randi bulwai,
Randi ke natcheua more sajna na aye.

Everybody but my admirer and my lover came.
I cooked sweetmeats for my lover,
But no eater ever came.
I filled the water pot for my lover,
But he that was to bathe did not arrive

1:Griffiths M-5 (ca. 1940) 1946 AW37 Kol AW37

539
585

I prepared *pan* for him as well,
But the eater of betel did not appear.
I spread a chess board for my lover,
But no well-wisher came to play.
I made a bed for my lover,
But no sleeper came to rest.
I tied a swing for him,
But no lover ever came.
I called dancing girls for him to watch,
But he that could make them dance did not arrive.

11. Marriage Song: At the Time of Circumambulation.

Ratan piyare ankhiyan sajna hans ke bolo re.
Jatan jatan se dhungata kholo nehan toro re,
Ratan piyare ankhiyan sajna hans ke bolo re.
Jatan jatan se galua rijho neha na toro re,
Ratan piyare ankhiyan sajna hans ke bolo re.
Jatan jatan chuliya kholo neha na toro re,
Ratan piyare ankhiyan sajna hans ke bolo re.
Jatan jatan se chunri kholo re nema na kholo re,
Ratan piyare ankhiyan sajna hans ke bolo re.
Jatan jatan se jubnan masko nehan toro re,
Ratan piyare.....
Jatan jatan se pidre masko nehan toro re,
Ratan piyare.....
Jatan jatan se koncha pak do nehan toro re,
Ratan piyare, ankhiyan.....

O husband of jewel-like eyes: only smile and speak.
Slowly and carefully remove the veil from my face,
So that our love may never grow cold;
O darling of jewel-like eyes only smile and speak.
Slowly put thy hand round my neck,
So that our love may never grow cold,
My darling of jewel-like eyes.
My darling of jewel-like eyes open thou
My bodice with care,
So that our love may never grow cold.
My lover of jewel-like eyes very slowly
Disrobe me,
So that our love may never grow cold.

1;Griffiths M-5 (ca. 1940) 1946 AW37 Kol AW37

539
585

My husband of beautiful eyes speak love,
And slowly press my breasts,
So that our love may never grow cold.
My lover of wonderful eyes, very slowly
Press thou my thighs,
So that our love may never grow cold.
My darling of beautiful eyes very gently
Hold thou the calves of my legs,
So that our love may never grow cold.
My lover of jewel-like eyes passionately
Consummate all,
So that our love may never grow cold,
O husband of jewel-like eyes.

539
522
585

12. A Series of Coarse Impossibilities.

Sas kunwari bahu garabh mein,
Sari sonth gur khay,
Dekhanhari ke lalna hoga,
Banjh piyane jay.

The mother-in-law is a spinster,
Yet the daughter-in-law is pregnant;
Her sister gets dried ginger
And date sugar to eat;
The woman who is a mere spectator
Gives birth to an infant;
And the barren woman feeds the child
From her breast.

539
585

13. The Bridegroom Likened to a Parrot.

Hare bansa ka pinjara wo ma suvana amola,
Tanga kadama kai dari ma apana karata kilola.
Sakhi samujhaiwali, batiya hamara.

A cage is made of green bamboos,
And a priceless parrot within.
It is hung on a *kadam* branch,
There he mutters and chirps and enjoys it.
O dearest one: what I am saying
Is worth considering.

1:Griffiths M-5 (ca. 1940) 1946 AW37 Kol AW37

14. The Wife's Glory.

539 585 *Bundawali are,*
Bunda ke rale uchata gai,
Jota mari gai.

[302 554] O fair one bedecked with that spot of vermillion,
If that be gone
Then shattered is all thy beauty.

15. A Warning Song.

Lakh gori lakh sanwari,
Lakh na chare pahar,
Bich dhar men gir pare,
Kaua gidh na khay.

Though her complexion be fair or dusky,
Though she climb hills *lakhs* of times,
Yet if she falls in the mid-stream of life,
Not even crows or vultures will touch her.

16. Marriage Song: For the Time of Parting.

Konnoki bangal bahinayan ban kajli lojawe lal?
Dulha ko bangal bahinayan ban kajli lojawe lal.
Hathi bhange ghora jam unt bicharo, unt bicharo,
Gutka khaye langa lugar samp jaye,
Gani gatili jariya jay tang utaye bichhu,
Jay, Mahadeo ko, jay.
Konnoki bangal bahinayan ban kajli lojawe lal?

What palanquin carrier will bear
This sister of ours to Kajli forest?
Her husband's carriers will bear
This sister of ours to Kajli forest.
He asked for an elephant—
But was given a horse,
And a camel was given him too.
If this potent be eaten
All poisonous snakes will fly,
And the scorpion will vanish

Griffiths M-5 (ca. 1940) 1946 AW37 Kol AW37

Leaving nothing behind;
They will go to the great Sivaji.
What palanquin bearer will carry
This sister of ours to Kajli forest?

V. Songs of Religion.

1. Religious Teaching: The Name of Ram.

Rama, Rama, saba kahai,
Dasharata kahai na koi:
Eka nama Dasharata ka leta
Koti janama phala hoy.
Rama, Rama amola hai,
Damana bina bikaya.
Tulasi aisa nama ko gahaka
Nahin karhaya.

Though all take the name of Ram,
And none the name of great Dasarath:
Yet the name of Dasarath, if breathed in prayer
Blesses through millions of births.
But the name of Ram—it is priceless,
And without price it is offered.
E'en then, saith Tulasi, there's no one,
No one ready to own his name.

2. Religious Teaching: Worship Ram Now.

Rama, Rama hi lutahai,
Luta ja pala luta.
Anta samaya pachhataba pyare prana
Jo jaihain chhuta.
Rama kai bhajana karau dina rata.

Ram, Ram, sounds and resounds,
And they who know his address should heed it.
When your life is past, dear friend,
And the time for repentance has vanished,
You'll rue it.
So now worship Ram day and night.

1:Griffiths M-5 (ca. 1940) 1946 AW37 Kol AW37

3. Religious Teaching: Kindness.

539 *Mata pita ko lalana mare tiriya ko,*
577 *Larake kya haraho jaga men?*
869 *Aye ke aiso jiwana paye ke?*
Paraza ke thali jiwana baithe,
Murada mara ke ka haraho jaga men ayake?

Beating your parents and kicking your wife,
O lad, what's the gain in this world?
What will you get for such a life?
Sitting to eat at the funeral feast,
What in the world is the use of that?

4. Religious Teaching: Arrogance.

Prabhuji se garva kiya so hara.
Ban ki ghumachi lala badan muha,
Kara Prabhuji se gar garvahara so hara.
Garva kiya eka ban ki hiranaya,
Unhun ka nain bigara.
Garva kiya eka chaki chakha,
Unhun ka rain bigara.

He who lifts his heart against God is already defeated.
The *ghumachi* of the forest was vain and lofty,
So God gave its fruit a red face and black body,
And it was henceforward ashamed.
A deer in the forest thought against God,
And it was disfigured with blindness.
The Chakhi-Chakha birds were proud and vain,
Their nights were henceforward despoiled.

5. Religious Teaching: Vanity.

Na garbh karna dihiya se.
Garbh kiya Rama aur Lakshman,
Unke dukh par gayo Sita haran se.
Garbh kiya Lanka ka Rawan,
Unke dukh par gayo Lanka jare se.
Garbh kiya eka sadhu bairagi,
Unke dukh par gaye dhuni kale se.

liGriffiths M-5 (ca. 1940) 1946 AW37 Kol AW37

Garbh hiya cha jai hi machaleya,
Unhe dukh par gaye pani kate se.
Garbh hiya cha ban hi chiriya,
Inhe dukh par gayi pathara pare se.

Never be vain of thy handsome body.
Very proud were Ram and Lakshman,
So they suffered when they lost Sita.
And vain was Rawan of Lanka,
And mourned when his city was burned.
A sadhu's soul was lifted to vanity,
And his sacred fire went out forever.
A fish in the waters was sporting,
And was left when the pond dried up.
Then vain was a bird in the forest,
So hailstones ended his chirpings.

6. A Song to be Sung at the Phag Festival.

Kuan par hare lagawe sakjoni,
Ghare chalo bundawari ho leke.
Utri mahanadi jhulani dehe,
Mundari mora badala dewa yar.
Nadiya dudhan dhari bahi awe,
Kagada ka naiya bani chali dekhi.
Agawa Phagun phagua khelaye rangroj ka sath.
Panch rupaya mardhi mon,
Bar le Kashi men khel phag.
Hama ho holi kholan din jay.
Angam men tulasi kabirawa bola,
Ho Sitaram.
Kahin Kal hare jay tatiya dehe.

O fair companion,
Let us set plantains by this well,
And go home with one who has this *banda*.
The great river is crossed by a present of jewelry,
So give me back the ring, O my friend.
The river comes flowing down like a stream of milk;
Let us watch the paper boats
Bobbing in its current.
In the month of *Phag* we'll play *phag* with the dyers.

1:Griffiths M-5 (ca. 1940) 1946 AW37 Kol AW37

539 O let us save five rupees for that:
Then we can go to Kashi and celebrate,
All day could be spent in *holi*.
In the courtyard the tulasi plant
Shouts "Sitaram".
Behind closed doors sport Kol and Kolin together.

7. A Song of Sharda Worship.

Kahan tor janam hoy Sharda,
Kahan liyo awatara?
Kaha na karu thapan,
Jhula motin ke har?

Kashi men mor janam bhayo,
Hinglas awatara;
Maihar karain thapana,
Jhula motin ke har.

Maihar ke Sharda gaye
Jogiya sapanay;
Mandir men mor mail bhaye,
Dhaja bhaye puran.

Man man ja Sharda,
Aba samaya nahi hai;
Age sal mandir daion putay,
Dhaja daion garway.

Oh Goddess Sharda, where were you born?
Where did you incarnate yourself?
Where should you be installed
Seated on a swing hung with ropes of pearl?

"I was born at Kashi,
At Hinglaj did I incarnate myself,
I should be installed at Maihar,
Seated there on the pearled swing."

When Sharda went to Maihar
They knew it in a dream.
"My temple is full of filth," quoth she,
"All my temple flags are old."

1:Griffiths M-5 (ca. 1940) 1946 AW37 Kol AW37

539

Ah Goddess Sharda, forgive us please,
We have no time just now;
Next year we'll wash your temple white,
New flags shall fly again.

8. Sharda's Marriage.

Sat bahin yahan devi re Sharda,
Saton bahin kunwaron man.

Saton men kaun si 'lalarin?
Kaûn barat hai byah?
Saton bahnon men Sharda lalari,
Bahi ha rachyon biyah.
Dwij pare baka lagan dharodan,
Naumi ki baraton men.

Ai barat meli, ghumre hain tabala nisan;
Ai barat gaonre meli, baji lagi barat he tabala;
Ai barat dware men meli,
Hoy lagi dwar he char.

Isi gauna he kaise riliyan?
Dulhin dekhe barat!

Seven sisters are you *devis* all, O Sharda!
All seven are virgins.

Of all the seven who is the most beautiful?
Who now marries her?
Sharda is of all most beautiful,
And she is being wed.
Her *lagan* will be read on the moon's second day,
The *barat* will come on its ninth.

The procession is here! The *tabalas* beat!
The *barat* has reached the village:
Hear the beat of the wedding drums!
The *barat* is at the very door;
Everywhere folks meet and greet!

What sort of custom is this?
For the bride is watching the *barat*!

l:Griffiths M-5 (ca. 1940) 1946 AW37 Kol AW37

9. **Ramayana Song: The Place of Ram and Sita**

SR *Kaune kuan khanai? Kaune bandhai bhita?*
Kaune pati dharai? Kaune bhari jala nira?
Raja Dasarath kuan khanawai;
Raja Indra bandhawai bhita;
Sita pati dharawai,
Jalabhare Doshamata maya.
Kahan ma upajai chandana birawa?
Kahan belhari pana?
Kahan ma upajai Sita Janaki?
Kahan Shri Bhagawan?
Bana ke dali men chandana upajai;
Barai ke bangala pana.
Raja Janaka ke upajai Janaki,
Raja Dasarath ke Rama.
Kahe ko upaji Sita Janaki?
Kahe ko Shri Bhagawan?
Raja rachaika Sita Janaki:
Bhajai ka Raja Rama.

Who dug this well? Who made its walls?
Who first fixed its bars and drew its pure waters?
King Dasarath dug the well;
King Indra made its walls;
Dear Sita fixed the bars,
Mother Doshamata drew forth the first sweet drink.
O where does the sandal tree thrive?
And where do *belhari* leaves grow?
From whence does Sita spring forth?
How came the Lord God to be?
In the thickets are found the sandal tree;
In the *pan*-seller's house the luscious *pan*.
Sita was born in King Janaka's palace,
From King Dasarath's Ram came forth,
Why was Sita born?
Why came the Lord God to the world?
Janaki was born to build up the Kingdom:
Ram came forth to be worshipped.

10. **A Song of Krishna: The Flute Player of Brindaban.**

Brindabana ma baji muraliya,
Mohai tino loka;

1;Griffiths M-5 (ca. 1940) 1946 AW37 Kol AW37

539

Jo na mohaya loha,
Sakhi rahai haun se loha?
Kanhai bajawai muraliya Kadama hai chhaha.

The flute was played in Brindaban,
Three worlds stood fascinated;
If anyone is not thereby entranced,
Then friend, who can he be?
For under the Kadam tree Kanhai is playing the flute.

VI. MISCELLANEOUS SONGS.

1. An Invocation at the Time of Song.

Dhulki men Ganesh,
Timki men hawa bhaiya Sharda.

May Ganesh dwell in my drum,
And Sharda give wind to my *timki*,

2. In Praise of the Drums.

Sumaro gaura Ganesh nita nayana mai Sharada.
Bije ke dholak baji san sutri ke dor,
Kas kas ke chura band,
Bajawaiya na awe thaor.
Sharada mai tumhare sharan dholak baje,
Jamuna ke kinare khele gend Nandlal.

Always remember the fair Ganesh and Mother Sharda.
The *dholak* of *bije* wood is all ready,
Its strings have been tightly tuned;
So the players dare not approach.
O Mother Sharada, it is under your protection,
But Nandlal is playing ball on the edge of the Jamuna.

3. Of Forest Dwellers.

Gana bajana kya jano, jangal ke rahanewale?
Khana pakanwa apa ke liye—khana pina,

1;Griffiths M-5 (ca. 1940) 1946 AW37 Kol AW37

● 539

Kya jano maya sukhi ke khanewale.
Garwa bharae apa ke liye—garwa ke ghalana,
Kya jano tumari ke pinewale.
Biriya banaewa apa ke liya—biriya ruchana,
Kya jano mayapatta ke khanewale.
Seja bichhaonwa apa ke liya—sejiya sona,
Kya jano gudri ke sonewale.

O dwellers in jungle, what do you know of singing and music?
I have cooked for you,—but how poor you make it out, for you have dry food always.
I have water ready for you,—but alas, will it please you? You who drink water from gourds?
Pan is ready too,—but you who use the leaves of the forest, can you enjoy this tender treat?
A bed is ready for you,—but tell me true:
How will you ever rest on such, O sleepers on rags!

535 [462 562]

DANCES. Dancing is found in connection with all happy occasions: births, weddings, feasts and festivals, but among the Kols it is only the women who dance. The men play and sing, but it is universally claimed that they never dance; it is considered effeminate to do so, for eunuchs dance, and since Kols are men they should not dance. In other groups among whom the Kols live, such as the Gonds and even the outcaste groups, the men-folk dance.

There is one main type of dance among Kols called by the same name as the songs that are sung with it: the *dadra*. There are various forms of this dance, differing somewhat in rhythm and also in movement. To the casual observer they look almost the same, but to the Kol there are real differences. The *jhurani chal* and the *shaitani* are forms of the *dadra*. The word *shaitani* is literally 'satanic' or 'devilish' and in this form the words sung are very abusive and suggestive. On the occasion of such a dance with its accompanying songs, youths and maidens often elope. [578] [583]

The famous *karma* dance of the Gonds, in which both men and women participate, is not danced by the Kols, though they know of it and have often watched it. Russell and Hiralal however, claim that the Kols dance it.[1] [177] [114]

1 *Op. cit.*, Vol. III, p. 317.

1:Griffiths M-5 (ca. 1940) 1946 AW37 Kol AW37

children, three of whom are now dead. They died of fevers and smallpox. I was married a second time and this wife has had but one child—the boy who is now going to school:

People around here count me one of the rich and well-to-do farmers of Kotmi, even though I am now only 35 years of age. I am now engaged in a controversy over a piece of land and the *panch* has not been able to settle it to my satisfaction. I have threatened to take the matter to court and I hope the *panch* will do the right thing.

Phaggu: A Kol who Returned to the Old Paths[1]

My father was born in Barela and he held a few acres of land and farmed them and gained sufficient wealth to make us independent. He had nine children, five of them were boys and four were girls. Two of the sisters are now living, while two are dead. The time came when my father could not profitably farm his land so a Mohammedan of influence bought the field and father worked for him in the same field for forty or forty-five years. My elder brother is working as a factory coolie in Jubbulpore and I work as a coolie in Barela.

I too was born here in Barela. My father died when I was about thirty years of age. I did not get any share of my father's property, for when he died I was not at home but in Nagpur. I lived at home with my father for eighteen years and was then married. I started to school, but could not continue to study because the school master used to punish his students very much and once when he tried to punish me I tripped him up and he fell and hurt his head. I was then in the first Hindi. This was during the great famine.

By the grace of Narayan we did not die of hunger during this awful famine, for we had enough to eat, especially those first eighteen years when I never thought of hard work such as coolie work. When I was eighteen I took a rupee from father and set off for Nagpur and travelled without a ticket all the day. I would get off the train at every station and as the train started I used to get in another compartment. Thus I reached Balaghat and got a job in the Manganese mines where I worked for about ten years. I could not earn anything there except enough to feed me:

Jahan jao bhag,
Wahan lage Ag.
Age Age sab Sanichar ja raha hai
Tu kahan ja raha hai?

1. See Frontispiece and plate XXVII.

1:Griffiths M-5 (ca. 1940) 1946 AW37 Kol AW37

159
[539]

Wherever thou goest
There a fire flares up.
You are haunted by Saturn (ill luck)
So where art thou going?

This verse sums up the story of my life.

When I was in Balaghat I did not marry. I left work there and went on foot to Sukari to see my sister and stayed there for eight years. In Gondia I kept a woman with me, but did not marry her, and had two children by her. From Sukari the four of us came by foot to Padriganj and from there bought tickets to return to Barela. We had but little money in hand, and although all our relatives were living together in Barela they would not take me back and I had to build a separate hut.

[836 848]

When I was ten or twelve years old I worked in the fort (Gun Carriage Factory, Jubbulpore) when its foundations were being built and for two years received four annas a day. Carrying dirt was my work at that time.

Just now, sir, I am very thin but before this I was very healthy and strong. Now I am working as a coolie and am settled here and hope never to leave Barela again. The woman I took to live with me in Gondia is still with me and altogether she has given birth to seven children, five of them having died, two when they were quite old. My son is sick and often has fits.

[163]

I have had a hard time in life. I have had no food and ate bread made of mango kernels and the flowers of the *semal* tree. And many other things which the ordinary man never eats. At the time of the great famine this was my lot. Rice was then four annas a seer, and we could not afford it. A few months ago I was very ill and we had no money so my wife had to get roots and leaves from the jungle. When I am sick I am not able to work and we all suffer. I am ashamed to ask for help from any one. Three years ago we were both very ill and we simply closed the door and remained inside. Our relatives didn't help us with either f..d or money, but both of us recovered.

[262]

[758]

[602]

I have a debt of about Rs. 4 or 5 but never in my life have I taken a large loan. I never drink wine except when invited to some wedding festivities. I am not in this habit and know that it is not good to drink liquor. I don't know the disadvantages of drink because I don't drink. Of course this I know, that if you are intoxicated then anyone may come, kick you and rob you of what you may have on your person. There is loss of money too. The same money can be

[426]

1: Griffiths M-5 (ca. 1940) 1946 AW37 Kol AW37

with his group and lacks the support which would help him in times of difficulty. 159

Dholi is an example of a Kol who tried to rise above his environment and was pulled back into it and its superstition by ill health and worry. He feels his life is wasted and he sits around and mopes about it nearly all the time. Kols of his village laugh at him and say that is what education does to a man. [829]

Harlal is a cheerful chap who ventures away from the home fires and again and again tries to become independent. But he is pulled back just as he seems to get there. He too is out of harmony with his group, but just the same he is so tied to them that he cannot leave them. Harlal's father talked a lot to us about him and calls him a disloyal son.

In the last story an old Kol dwells upon the days when the main roads were being built in the Central Province, and on superstitions in connection with it. He does not have much to say and while he claims that he is well off financially nevertheless he still prefers the crude hut as a dwelling.

Rahe chhora kuraha chale, turata dhokha khaya. [537]

Who leaves the road for a path, is soon astray.

Griffiths M-5 (ca. 1940) 1946 AW37 Kol AW37

Appendix III

NOTES ON POETRY IN CHAPTER XI[1]

I. Songs of Nature.

1. A *dohárí* from Katni. The theme of love is also set forth. The crow is symbolical of an ordinary human being.

2. The chakahí-chakí (or Chakhí-chakvá) (*casarca rutila*) birds are a pair supposed to be under an eternal curse. During the day they may stay together and sport in the river, but when night comes they must be separated and stay apart from one another. A *dohárí* from Katni.

3. A *dádrá* from Imalhapur village.

4. A *dohárí* from Katni.

Bélá: a kind of jasmin. *Chameli*: a creeper of the jasmin type.
Sarangí: a one-stringed country violin.
Sitár: an instrument usually having seven strings.

5. A *birhá* or forest song. This is sung as one walks through the forest and no musical instrument is used to accompany it. The woman is anxious about her husband whom she calls her lord.

II. Life: its Joys and Sorrows.

1. This song is a *rdí* from Sihora.

2. The 'green month' is *Sáwan*, which corresponds to the last half of July and the first half of August. The rains by this time have set in well and the heat-scorched landscape has been transformed. It is of the *dádrá* type of song and comes from Barela.

3. A *dádrá* from Katni.

4. A wedding *dohárí* from the village of Salavara. This song and others like it are used to tease the bridegroom. Here the girl is said to protest the choice of a mate for her.

5. A *dádrá* from Katni.

6. Called '*bárahmásí*.' 'A twelve-month song.' Sung by women who have to stay at home while their husbands go afar for work. This song is from Katni and comes from a woman. There are only ten of the Hindi months named here: Sáwan and Pús are omitted by the singer, probably by error. The Hindi months are as follows—

Asárh	..	June-July.
Sáwan	..	July-August (omitted in the poem).
Bhádon	..	August-September.
Kunwár	..	September-October.
Kátika	..	October-November.
Agahana	..	November-December.
Pús	..	December-January (omitted above).
Mágha	..	January-February.

[1] [The native texts of songs and poetry will be found on pp. 221-244.—Analyst]

1:Griffiths M-5 (ca. 1940) 1946 AW37 Kol AW37

Phâgun	..	February-March.
Chaita	..	March-April.
Baishâka	..	April-May.
Jeth	..	May-June.

III. LOVE AND INTRIGUE.

1. A *dâdrâ* from Katni. The *lotâ* is a brass vessel used for carrying liquids. A cord is frequently tied about its neck and it is lowered into a well in order to bring up water. See note on 6, 7 below.

2. A *kâfâlî* from Imalhapur. This is a teasing song and in this case the *kafâlî* is addressed to a young maid of beauty. The *pânwâlâ* prepares and sells the *pân*, a mixture of betel nut, lime and tobacco wrapped in Piper leaves (*Piper betel*).

3. A *dâdrâ* from Katni.

4. A *dâdrâ* sung at the wedding season: from Jubbulpore. The suspicious husband is assured that his wife's smiles and blushes are innocent, and are directed to no other man. The first line should be repeated four times.

5. A *dhîmar* from Katni. The *dhîmar* is a member of the fisherman caste, but is used in another sense.

6, 7. These are both *dâdrâs* from Katni. The symbolism of these two songs is perhaps obvious. Sexual matters are referred to by the men as entering a house, as a lotus on a pond or in terms of getting water from the well.

8. A *sâî* from Katni.

9. A *biyâ*, or wedding song; sung at the time of the circumambulation of the sacred post. From Salavara. The terms of relationship are noted in the text of the translation. The intrigue is rather complicated and it is evident that the mother-in-law, who ought to be on her guard, is a simpleton and does not realize what is going on. The symbolism is apparent.

IV. SONGS OF SOCIAL EVENTS.

1. This song is called *chhaukar* as it is sung on the sixth night after the birth of a child. The woman complains that the in-laws care nothing for her birth-pangs. Given by women near Katni.

2. A *badhwâ*, a song sung by women when a male child is born. The song is kept up for long periods and is repeated again and again. It is essentially a song of congratulation. Ayodhya was the place of Ram's birth. This song given by women near Katni.

3. Another *chhaukar* or sixth-night song from Katni. A Kajali forest (dense—black as *kajal*) is one inhabited by elephants. The swing has a sexual symbolism.

4. A *dâdrâ* from Imalhapur. The *Pûrabiyâs* are dwellers in the eastern parts. There is a Purbiya subdivision of Chamars. (Briggs, *op. cit.* page 24). The *Baghels* are men of Baghelkhand.

5. A *sâî* from Katni.

6. A marriage *dâdrâ* from Barela and sung as a teasing song. *Marwâ* or *marhwâ*: the wedding booth.

1:Griffiths M-5 (ca. 1940) 1946 AW37 Kol AW37

Khambh : the sacred post.
Kalas : The water pot.
Chauha : The small raised platform under the booth.
Haldi : Turmeric (*Cirruma longa*).

7. This is a wedding song from Barela. The headings indicate the time the song is sung.

8. The important guests are teased by being told that they are being fed with food fit only for animals.

9. Another song with a sting. Sung in connection with the arrival of the bridegroom's party. From Salavara.

10, 11. From Barela.

12. A marriage *dâdrâ* from Barela. The whole is a coarse series of jesting absurdities : the unmarried woman can hardly have a daughter-in-law, and yet the latter is pregnant. It is, however, her sister who is fed the food given to women in confinement, and a woman who is a mere spectator to all this suddenly gives birth to the child which a barren woman takes and suckles.

13. A wedding *dâdrâ* from Katni. The *kadam* tree is the *Nauclea orientalis*. In wedding imagery the bridegroom is frequently likened to a parrot.

14. A *rîti* from Katni. The spot of vermilion denotes a living husband.

15. A wedding song from Barela in which the bride is teased and warned to be careful. A lakh is 100,000.

16. From Barela. The *barât* is being teased. Kajli forest is a forest frequented by elephants. A *gutkâ* is a magic ball prepared by devotees which, when eaten, is supposed to make one invisible. Here it makes others disappear

V. Songs of Religion.

1. *Dâdrâs* from the vicinity of Katni. These are examples of numerous songs of this nature which were collected and translated but are not reproduced here. It is likely that most of the songs centering about Râm and his experiences in search of Sîtâ are borrowed as in their actual worship Râm is seldom taken into account by Kols. Dasarath was the father of Râm.

3. From Sihora : a *rîti*.

4. A *dohâri* from Imalhapur. The *ghumachi* is said to be a fruit of reddish colour with black spots upon it. It is probably the *ghunghachi* (*Abrus Precatorius*.) For *chakki-chakvâ* birds see notes on 1 : 3.

5. This has references to the Râmâyana story. A *dohâri* from Imalhapur.

6. A song for the *phâg* season, composed in Garha. *Phâg* and *holi* refer to the same season. A *bunda* is a dot or decoration on the forehead to enhance a woman's beauty. Kashi is the holy city of Benares.

7. A *bhajan* called *sumaran*—'song of remembrance'. Hinglâs : or Kailâs, the holy mount of Siva in the Himalayas. Maihar : a town and state about 100 miles north of Jubbulpore. It is the seat of the main temple dedicated to Shârdâ *devî*.

8. A *bhagat* from Jubbulpore. *Lagan* : the wedding horoscope. *Barât* : the party which comes to the girl's house bringing the groom with

1;Griffiths M-5 (ca. 1940) 1946 AW37 Kol AW37

539 them. *Tabalds*: drums. But the procedure is irregular for the goddess is spying on the procession of the men-folk.

9. A *bikhri*, a song used at seasons of enjoyment and happiness.

[776] From Katni. Dasarath: the father of Rām.
Sītā: the chaste wife of Rām.
Deohmātā: a name for the wife of Indra.
Bakhri leaves are used for *pāns*.
Rām and Bhagawān are often used interchangeably.

10. A *dādrā* from Katni. Kānhāi is another name for Krishṇa, one of the incarnations of Vishṇu and famous for his flute playing. His name is usually associated with the Jamunā river and the city of Brindābun.

VI. MISCELLANEOUS.

[776] 1. A *rdi* from Jubbulpore. Ganesh is the god of wisdom, son of Śiva and is distinguished by his elephant face. *Timki*: kettle drum.

[534] 2. A *rdi* from Sihora. The *dholak* is the common type of Indian drum.

3. A *dādrā* from Katni, sung by women.